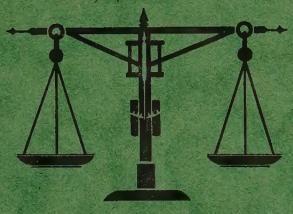
Vol. 3 No. 5 May 1961

# THE MIZAN NEWSLETTER

*A REVIEW OF SOVIET WRITING*
*ON THE MIDDLE EAST AND AFRICA*



**PRICE SEVEN SHILLINGS AND SIXPENCE**

Issued by the Central Asian Research Centre
in association with St. Antony's College (Oxford) Soviet Affairs Study Group

THE MIZAN NEWSLETTER

Vol.III No.5 May 1961

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The Mizan Newsletter aims at giving an objective and balanced account of current Soviet writings on the Middle East and Africa

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## MIDDLE EAST

Iraq's Oil Policy is an account of an article by Yu.N. Andreyev which criticizes the oil policy of the Iraqi Government. Andreyev complains that the government, in its dealings with the oil companies, has not shown sufficient firmness in defending the people's interests. He writes approvingly of Iraqi Communist pressure on the government in this direction.

The Middle East in the Soviet Press includes Soviet reports on the treatment of trade unionists in Iraq, and reviews Soviet press coverage of events in Persia.

## AFRICA

Soviet Writing on Ethiopia examines Soviet views on Ethiopia's relations with Britain and America; on the development of Soviet-Ethiopian relations; on relations between the Ethiopian and Somali peoples; and on the Ethiopian regime and its policy.

Africa in the Soviet Press includes Soviet comment on the Third African Peoples' Conference and on developments in Algeria, the Congo and Angola.

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# M I D D L E  E A S T

## IRAQ'S OIL POLICY

Soviet criticism of Iraqi policy, which until recently was mainly confined to the limited aspect of the measures taken against Communists, now assumes a wider scope with the publication of a detailed and critical examination of the Iraqi Government's oil policy (Yu.N. Andreyev, "The Oil Policy of the Iraqi Republic", PROBLEMY VOSTOKOVEDENIYA No.1 of 1961).

During the first period after the Iraqi revolution Soviet accounts of Iraqi oil policy were commendatory and uncritical. It was explained to the Soviet reader that the Iraqi Government was concentrating on obtaining from the oil companies an increase in oil outputs and concession payments, and that where a company did not fulfil its obligations appropriate measures were taken - such as the abrogation of the Khanaqin Oil Company's concession agreement (MIZAN NEWSLETTER No.6 of 1959, p.10). Abrogation or revision of the 1952 oil concession agreements was not called for. More recently, a favourable picture was presented of the Iraqi Government's steps to "engage in the complete cycle of operations in the oil industry, from prospecting to the marketing of oil products", and the importance of Soviet aid in this connection was emphasized (MIZAN NEWSLETTER No.9 of 1960, p.11). Now, however, Andreyev points out that, two and a half years after the revolution, the Iraqi Government has still not revised the "enslaving concession agreement" of 1952, and that even within the framework of the existing concessions it has not gone far enough towards "settling the oil problem":

> "The ruling circles of the country, under pressure from both democratic and reactionary forces, do not always pursue a consistent and resolute policy towards the imperialist oil monopolies. In essence the oil problem in Iraq has still not been resolved even within those limits in which it was possible with the preservation of the foreign concessions."

The oil companies and the Republic Andreyev begins his article with an examination of the character of the oil concession agreements of 1952 and of the oil companies' operations in Iraq. The agreements, he says, "deprive the Iraqi Government of any possibility of effectively control-

ling the activity of the foreign oil companies"; they are operative until the year 2000 or later, and the Iraqi Government is not entitled to change or abrogate them unilaterally, "that is to say it is deprived of a right recognized by the UN Charter and confirmed by all international juridical practice". Iraq's nominal 50 per cent share in the profits of exported oil, says Andreyev, represents in fact only 20-25 per cent of the companies' total profits on the exploitation of Iraq's oil resources, since Iraq receives no share of the profits on the transport, refining and marketing of the oil. Andreyev goes on to repeat familiar Soviet charges of "machinations" by the oil companies in order to lower selling prices artificially, "cruel exploitation" of local workers, "national discrimination" against them and exclusion of Iraqis from technical and administrative posts, and the establishment by the companies of a "police regime" in the oil areas; and he gives a table to show the scale of the profits of the Iraq Petroleum Company during the years 1950-60. The company, he says, "kept and to a considerable degree still keeps in its hands the keys of the entire Iraqi economy"; despite Iraq's disproportionately low share of the oil profits, her revenue from these represents nearly all her foreign exchange receipts. The lop-sided structure of the Iraqi economy and its dependence on one commodity controlled by foreign monopolies "convincingly testify to the colonial character of the Iraqi economy, although monarchial Iraq was considered an independent state".

For republican Iraq, says Andreyev, the oil problem is both an economic and a political one; the basic source of financing the country's development is in the hands of "an international monopoly which tries to influence its political life". A correct and consistently applied oil policy was one of the first essentials for the young Republic.

> "It should be pointed out that all the parties which entered the National Front, as also the government of Abd al-Karim Qasim, do not at the present time put forward demands for the nationalization of the oil industry. The international oil cartel is in virtual control of the main sales markets, and there is an excess of oil supplies over demand on the world market; and the cartel is in a position to bring about a boycott of the Iraqi national oil industry and to fill the gap that is made with supplies from other sources. This measure was therefore apparently judged inopportune, although nationalization is a profound objective necessity for Iraq's development. In addition the government of the Iraqi Republic from the very beginning strove to stabilize the new regime in the field of foreign policy in order to carry out measures of primary importance at home and did not want to give the imperialist powers a pretext for possible intervention."

The Communists' programme The "enslaving agreements" with the oil companies, Andreyev goes on, were concluded when Iraq was "still semi-colonial"; a decisive alteration of relations with the companies is necessary. The "democratic forces" have called for an oil policy which would increase oil revenue, abolish all the unfair clauses of the concession agreement, put all the activity of the Iraq Petroleum Company under strict government control, develop a national oil industry and allow Iraq to come forward independently on to the world market.

The Iraqi Communists, says Andreyev, have "put forward the most clear-cut and consistent programme on the oil question". The Communists demand that the company should withdraw from all unexploited concession areas, so that these can be exploited in a way more favourable to the national economy; they demand the abolition of the "fifty-fifty" principle, on the example of neighbouring countries, and the extension of profit-sharing over the whole cycle of oil operations; they insist that Iraq must participate in the management of the oil company and in its share capital, and that the board of the company must be transferred to Iraq, which will facilitate Iraqi control over its activity; they consider that the vital question of oil prices "should be fixed on an objective economic basis by means of bilateral agreements"; the company must be compelled to utilize the natural gas; the programme of Iraqization, on which the oil workers' union insists, must be consistently carried out; and an Iraqi national oil company must be set up. For these details of the Communists' programme Andreyev cites ITTIHAD ASH-SHA'B (10.2.60) and IRAQI REVIEW (10.8.60 and 31.8.60).

Government policy The Iraqi Government itself, says Andreyev, "has not officially published a programme of its activity in the oil question". However, he adds, Qasim himself has frequently made known his views on individual aspects of the oil problem, has sharply criticized the servility of the former regime towards the oil companies and has explained the successive measures taken by his government regarding the oil industry; in the two and a half years since the revolution the government has achieved some successes in securing Iraq's national interests in the oil question.

To obtain the means for economic and cultural development, Andreyev goes on, the Iraqi Government has "obliged" the Iraq Petroleum Company to double its output of oil by 1962. Andreyev then gives an account - without favourable or unfavourable comment - of the company's measures to increase oil output by obtaining a greater yield from existing deposits, prospecting for new ones, constructing new pipelines and building a new oil terminal at Fao. Next Andreyev gives a brief account of the Iraqi Government's four-year plan of economic and cultural development, to be financed partly by oil revenues and partly by Soviet credits; the plan,

he says, provides for the investment of twice as much capital as under the development plans of 1951-8.

However, Andreyev points out, Iraq's oil revenues could be significantly increased if the "fifty-fifty" principle could be broken; the government has cited the example of more favourable agreements concluded by Persia, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait with "outsider" companies, and has asked for a corresponding revision of its own terms, in accordance with the relevant provision in the concession agreement; but the company still rejects this demand, until such time as the new concession agreements of Iraq's neighbours "show their effectiveness in practice".

Other measures by the Iraqi Government of which Andreyev expresses approval are the nationalization of the Khanaqin Oil Company's concession; the demand for the surrender of 60 per cent of the oil companies' concession areas; the government's entry into the field of refining and marketing, and its decision to build a new refinery within five years; the gradual Iraqization of all technical staff; the closer inspection by state organs of the company's production activities and financial affairs, and the control by military units of security in the oil-producing areas; and the government's action in seeking aid from the Soviet Union.

Soviet aid On the latter subject Andreyev becomes expansive:

> "Striving to establish and develop the national oil industry, the government of the Iraqi Republic turned to the Soviet Union for aid in this matter of vital importance to the country. This fact reflects the whole significance of Iraq's achievement of political independence from imperialism. It is, after all, the first occasion when a major oil-exporting country whose oil industry is controlled by the international oil cartel has turned to the mighty socialist state with such a request. Of course the Soviet Union met the Iraqi Republic over this and gave the assistance requested. Furthermore the socialist state did not demand any concessions, or participation in the profits or in the management of the oil industry undertakings. Soviet assistance is given on just, favourable and truly brotherly conditions...
>
> "Soviet organizations sent oil specialists to Iraq who took the place of Western specialists in the refinery at Dora and taught Iraqi oil workers how to handle complicated equipment for refining oil. According to a statement by the management of the state oil refineries this saved several million pounds sterling. Now most of the Soviet engineers and technicians, after passing on their experience to their Iraqi friends, have already returned home.

> Among the training centres which the USSR is organizing in the Iraqi Republic in accordance with the agreement on technical collaboration will be an oil training centre which will undoubtedly make a substantial contribution to the Iraqization programme in the country's oil industry. Under an agreement between the Iraqi Ministry for the Oil Industry and Tekhnoeksport, Soviet geologists will prospect for oil on the territory of the Khanaqin Oil Company's former concession. Finally the Soviet Union will take part in the construction at Basrah of Iraq's first petrochemical undertaking, a factory for the production of nitrogenous fertilisers from natural gas. This will lay the foundation for the establishment of a complex of undertakings of the petrochemical industry. The fraternal Soviet aid to the Iraqi Republic in the development of almost all branches of the national oil industry has produced a great impression on all the under-developed countries whose oil industry is in the hands of the oil monopolies and whose attempts to develop local extraction and refining of oil with the aid of the West but without granting concessions meet with rejection and opposition from the imperialist states."

Internal reaction and external pressure The Iraqi Republic, says Andreyev, is resolved to develop a national oil industry with the aid of the USSR, wishes to enter the world market as an independent exporter, and is striving by means of negotiations with the oil companies to obtain a revision of the concession agreement; these are the main features of its oil policy, which differs sharply from the line taken by "the feudal and monarchical countries of the Persian Gulf"; it is "a graphic demonstration of the vast possibilities which arise as a result of the overthrow of pro-imperialist regimes, the pursuance of an independent foreign policy and the establishment of friendship with the socialist countries". However, "the opportunities created by the July revolution" have still not been fully utilized:

> "Above all, the enslaving concession agreement of 1952 has still not been revised. Two and a half years after the revolution the independent Iraqi Republic is still obliged to build its official relations with the Iraq Petroleum Company on the basis of an agreement concluded eight years ago with a feudal and semi-colonial Iraq."

On occasions, Andreyev observes, the Iraqi Government has not carried through its policy to its logical conclusion. Thus when in 1958 it demanded that the Iraq Petroleum Company should surrender unutilized concession areas it stated at the same time that in these areas oil production would be organized as a national initiative. However, in July 1960 all interested companies and private individuals were invited to make

offers for oil prospecting and production in Iraqi territorial waters in the Persian Gulf, one of the concession areas surrendered by the Basra Petroleum Company; this step by the government was criticized by AL-AHALI, the National Democratic Party organ, as radically conflicting with the policy of economic independence.

From the second half of 1959, Andreyev goes on, the internal political situation in Iraq became complicated, and "reaction began to raise its head". A number of democratic organizations were subjected to persecution; trade unionists were illegally arrested, and reactionary elements installed in the trade union leadership; the Communist Party was "compelled to go underground", and many Communists were arrested. "In Iraq it did not pass unnoticed that the persecution of democratic elements was intensified at the time of the government's negotiations with the oil company. Representatives of the oil company frequently expressed displeasure at the anti-imperialist attacks of ITTIHAD ASH-SHA'B and other progressive newspapers. In autumn 1960 the Communist Party organ was suppressed. Not a few officials who had served under Nuri as-Sa'id returned to the administration. Some of them have reestablished their old links with the foreign oil monopolies, and in every way prevent the implementation of progressive measures by the government in the oil question."

Andreyev then gives his version of the events of July and August 1960, comprising (a) the dispute over the reduction of output by the Basra Petroleum Company as the result of increased port dues at Basrah, and (b) the government's negotiations with the Iraq Petroleum Company. He makes out that in cutting oil production, and also reducing oil prices, the companies were "blackmailing" Iraq, and that this and the "breaking-off" of negotiations in Baghdad on 15th August were "imperialist actions" whose aim was "to test the firmness of the present government of the Iraqi Republic and its resolution in defending the country's interests, and to test the degree of support for the government among the public and people". He contrives to suggest that it was pressure from the "democratic organizations" - the trade unions and the Communists - which forced the company to retract; he says that Qasim's government demanded the resumption of output by the Basra Petroleum Company, and quotes statements made by Qasim on the subject, but claims that the Communists were taking a firmer line:

> "ITTIHAD ASH-SHA'B published a number of editorial articles putting forward in the name of the 'People's Union' Communist Party and of all workers a number of demands, directed to ensuring the people's rights in the oil question. The Communist Party organ also demanded the rejection of secret negotiations and their publication, in order to ensure the control of the people and the public over the solution of a question of vital importance for the Republic."

In the struggle for the solution of the oil question, says Andreyev in conclusion, "are reflected as in a mirror the social and political character of the new regime and the changing relations of the class forces in present-day Iraq". Andreyev's article is in fact important not only as an expression of Soviet views on Iraqi oil affairs. It is a symptom of the Soviet feeling that a new political stage has been reached in Iraq, in which the government is showing that lack of resolution and consistency in defending the people's interests which, according to the conventional Soviet view, is one of the characteristics of a "national bourgeois" leadership. The article is also significant as an overt expression of Soviet support for Communist pressure on the Iraqi Government. Whether such support is motivated by Soviet estimates of the relative strength of the Communist movement in Iraq, or by outside considerations such as Soviet prestige in the world Communist movement, it is of course impossible to say; but the fact remains that, in Soviet references to important aspects of the Iraqi Government's policy, a new attitude of critical appraisal is discernible.

## THE MIDDLE EAST IN THE SOVIET PRESS

Below are reviewed reports on Middle East events appearing in Soviet newspapers during the period 11th April - 16th May.

Iraq PRAVDA (10.5.60) published the following Tass dispatch from Baghdad:

> "The newspaper AL-MUSTAQBAL has published an order by the Military Governor of Iraq, Abdi, on the closing down of the bureau and premises of the National Council of Iraqi Peace Defenders, on the grounds that 'there is no necessity for them'. In an explanation of the order it is also stated that 'the peace defenders' movement concerns the whole people, and is not confined to any particular group', that in Iraq 'there are no people who would not call for peace' and that 'everyone who is devoted to his homeland and humanity loves peace'.

TRUD (11.5.61) published a statement by the Soviet All-Union Trade Union Council calling on the Iraqi Government to "intervene and release from arrest" Ali Shukr, the chairman of the Iraqi trade union federation. Ali Shukr, it said, was widely known in the international worker's movement as a devoted fighter for the workers' interests and for the freedom of his country from imperialism and internal feudal reaction, and had spent many years in prison under the monarchy. "This arbitrary police

action against a courageous fighter for the freedom and happiness of the Iraqi people cannot fail to cause bewilderment to Soviet workers and trade unionists."

A statement by the World Federation of Trade Unions about the treatment of trade unionists in Iraq was also published in TRUD (13.5.61). This said that the campaign against trade union rights and liberties in Iraq was assuming ever wider proportions; the trade union elections were openly rigged, trade union premises were closed down, strikes were suppressed by force and hundreds of trade union leaders were dismissed and thrown into prison or killed. Repression was even more severe in connection with the workers' peaceful May Day demonstration. Many trade union leaders were arrested. By weakening the workers' struggle for the aims of the Republic the Iraqi Government was assisting "the imperialist intrigues directed to restoring in Iraq the rule of the oil companies, at the very moment when all national forces should be mobilized in order that the negotiations between these companies and the government should lead to results favourable to the interests of the Iraqi people". The WFTU had twice without result made representations to the Iraqi authorities on this subject. It demanded the release of all imprisoned Iraqi workers and trade union leaders and respect for trade union rights and liberties, and expressed full solidarity and support for Iraqi workers in their defence of their people's interests.

On 16th May TRUD published an article by I. Vasil'yev entitled "Alarming News from Iraq". The Baghdad authorities, said Vasil'yev, had arrested and thrown into prison the leaders of the workers' May Day demonstration, including the trade union federation chairman Ali Shukr. The authorities had first been unwilling to allow the demonstration, but had yielded to pressure from the democratic public and had then resorted to this arbitrary police action, which was only the latest in a series of innumerable attacks by reaction on the democratic rights of the working class. During recent months a wide campaign by reaction against the working class had developed, trying to remove its leaders and suppress its organizations. Making use of emergency military measures, the police authorities established direct control over trade union activities. The administration prepared the trade union election lists, depriving hundreds of "unreliable" trade unionists of the right to vote and giving voting papers to specially suborned police agents and others. The Ministry of Social Affairs was empowered to annul the election results if they were not to its liking, which it did on various occasions when the progressive elements, despite all the contrivances of reaction, were successful in the elections. The progressive public, leading newspapers and public figures and organizations had resolutely protested against these reactionary outrages, but the authorities remained deaf to their representations. Soviet workers were seriously disturbed by these developments, and could not fail to be alarmed by the attempts of Iraqi reaction to bring to naught the fruits of the transformation in the young republic.

Tass (KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 25.4.61) reported that under the Soviet-Iraqi economic and technical cooperation agreement contracts had been concluded between Prommashexport and the Iraqi Ministry of Industry for the construction in Iraq of an agricultural machinery factory and an electrical equipment factory. Construction of these two factories, in Iskandariyah and Baghdad respectively, would begin this year.

UAR A UAR parliamentary delegation headed by Anwar as-Sadat, President of the UAR National Assembly, visited the Soviet Union from 28th April to 12th May. The delegation was received by N.A. Mukhitdinov (PRAVDA 30.4.61), by Khrushchev (PRAVDA 4.5.61) and by Brezhnev and Mikoyan (PRAVDA 11.5.61). The delegation spent some days in Uzbekistan (PRAVDA VOSTOKA 4 and 7.5.61). The Soviet press reported at some length statements by Anwar as-Sadat expressing admiration for Soviet achievements and emphasizing UAR-Soviet friendship and the two countries' common ideals of peace and progress and the abolition of colonialism.

Minister M.A. Lesechko, accompanied by UAR ministers, went from Cairo to Aswan to visit the High Dam (SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA 31.3.61). The Soviet Minister of Communications B.P. Beshchev arrived in Cairo for a visit at the invitation of Mustafa Khalil, the Minister of Communications of the Egyptian region (PRAVDA 12.4.61).

Lebanon Antoine Georges Tabet was awarded an international Lenin prize "For the Strengthening of Peace between Peoples" (PRAVDA 1.5.61). In an interview with Tass (TRUD 4.5.61) Antoine Tabet said that he regarded this honour as an international recognition of the services of all who fought for peace and independence in the Lebanon and in all Arab countries and who fought "for the withdrawal of foreign forces from their native land, against military pacts and especially against the Baghdad Pact and the Eisenhower doctrine".

Yemen PRAVDA (12.4.61) published the exchange of messages between Khrushchev and the Imam Ahmad, King of the Yemen, on the handing over of the port of Ahmadi, built with Soviet aid, to the Yemeni Government. In his message Khrushchev emphasized that Soviet aid had no "selfish aims", and that the Soviet state had always pursued a policy of peaceful coexistence between states whatever their social structure; cordial relations between the USSR and the Yemen, he recalled, had already existed for more than 30 years.

The arrival of the US minelayer Strong in the port of Ahmadi was the subject of indignant articles in the Soviet press (KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 4.5.61; IZVESTIYA 6.5.61). IZVESTIYA said that, shortly after the arrival in

Ahmadi of the Soviet motorship Latviya with the official Soviet delegation, the US vessel arrived for the ostensible purpose of bringing tents for victims of the recent fire in Hudaydah; but in fact its personnel engaged in quite other activities, and took photographs and soundings in the harbour. The minelayer refused to hoist the Yemeni flag at first, and did so only an hour later after a request by the Yemeni port authorities. The sailors tried to barter cheap American watches for Yemeni daggers, but the watches were so inferior that the US sailors had scarcely returned to their vessel when they stopped, and the Yemenis in disgust flung them on the stone quayside. It was not surprising that no official courtesies were paid to this unwanted vessel either on arrival or departure.

Saudi Arabia PRAVDA VOSTOKA (30.3.61) published an article commenting on the Saudi decision not to renew the lease of the US air base at Dahran. The newspaper said that in 1957 the USA had "obliged" the Saudi Government to extend the lease. The base was one of the biggest maintained by the USA in a foreign country. According to the Syrian newspaper AN-NIDA, the Dahran base had no other aim than "preparation for aggressive war against the socialist camp, and the suppression of the national liberation movement of the Middle East peoples". The Saudi Government's decision testified to the growing opposition of the masses, who did not want to be dragged into a devasting war in the interests of the US monopolies.

Israel The opening of the Eichmann trial and its first stages did not receive any particular publicity in the Soviet press. A Tass report (KRASNAYA ZVEZDA and KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA 12.4.61) noted that a large delegation of "observers" from Bonn was attending the trial; their object was "not to allow the trial of Eichmann to be turned into a trial of Nazism, and not to allow revelations about the past of Nazi criminals ...who now occupy high government posts in Bonn".

PRAVDA (28.4.61) published an article by I. Aleksandrov entitled "Trial or Farce?" Eichmann's arrest, said Aleksandrov, seriously alarmed the West German Government, and in June 1960 its special representative met Ben Gurion in Brussels, following which Ben Gurion agreed to limit the material under investigation and to keep the West German Government informed of it in advance. The past and present of accomplices of Eichmann now at large and even occupying important posts in Western Germany was being buried in a conspiracy of silence. The Soviet public hoped that the public opinion of all countries, including Israel, would prevent the trial being turned into a mere farce.

Turkey The CENTO meeting in Ankara was the subject of an article in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (30.4.61). It was decided at the meeting, said KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, to set up a united military command for all member countries, and to appoint an American as chief of staff. "This will mean that the Pentagon will command the armed forces of Turkey, Persia and Pakistan and they will in effect lose their national character." The Ankara meeting had shown once again that CENTO was an instrument of the aggressive policy of the USA and Britain and was against the national interests of Turkey, Persia and Pakistan.

The signing of the Soviet-Turkish agreement on a direct railway link between the two countries was briefly reported in PRAVDA (29.4.61).

Tass (PRAVDA 11.5.61) reported that Gen. Gursel had a talk with the Soviet Ambassador before the latter's departure on leave; he stated afterwards that Turkey's relations with Russia were good and friendly and would become even better. He had asked the Soviet Ambassador to convey his congratulations to Khrushchev on the Soviet space flight.

Persia PRAVDA (26.4.61) reported in some detail the speech made in the Majlis budget debate by Ramatullah Muqaddam, who criticized the Persian government's economic policy as bringing the country "to the verge of economic bankruptcy".

TRUD and BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY (but not apparently PRAVDA and IZVESTIYA) gave fairly detailed reports on the teachers' strike and demonstrations in Tehran, on the basis of Tass reports from London, Paris and New York (TRUD 4, 7 and 12.5.61; BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY 6 and 7.5.61). The formation of a new government and the disolution of parliament were reported without comment (TRUD 6.4.61; PRAVDA 10.5.61). It was noted that the new Premier Dr. Ali Amini had stated that he would take steps to improve the situation and pay of teachers, and that owing to the parlous state of the finances he would introduce a regime of strict economy (TRUD 9.5.61). PRAVDA (11.5.61) quoted an interview given by Dr. Amini to DIE WELT, in which the new Premier declared that association with the West was still the corner-stone of Iraq's foreign policy, but added that Persia wanted good-neighbourly relations with the Soviet Union and therefore would not allow any American military bases on Persian territory.

Cyprus Relations between Cyprus and the Soviet Union were the subject of a NEW TIMES article (No.15 of 1961) by P. Goroshkin. Goroshkin spoke of the enthusiasm shown at the meeting in Nicosia on 5th March when the Cyprus-USSR Society was launched; of the friendly feelings towards the

Soviet Union expressed to him by the mayors of Famagusta and Limassol and by the Cypriot surgeon Dr. George Marangos; and of Cypriot-Soviet contacts - a delegation of Soviet collective farmers had recently visited Nicosia, ships carrying Soviet tourists had called at Famagusta, a Cypriot delegation would attend the World Youth Forum in Moscow, and the Mayor of Limassol had been invited to visit Moscow.

TRUD (11.4.61) reported that M.M. Lelashvili, Chairman of the Georgian Trade Union Council, had gone to Nicosia to attend the congress of the All-Cypriot Federation of Labour.

In a dispatch from Athens N. Bragin (PRAVDA 30.4.61) denounced British aerial and military manoeuvres in Cyprus as a "demonstration of force" which had the aim of "frightening the Cypriots and breaking their unanimous opposition to the presence of foreign bases on the island and their conversion into depots for atomic and rocket weapons".

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A bibliography of Russian writing on Turkey BIBLIOGRAFIYA TURTSII (A Bibliography of Turkey), Izdatel'stvo Vostochnoy Literatury, Moscow 1959, issued by the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, lists Soviet books, articles, speeches and official statements dealing with Turkey (1917-1958), and also Turkish and West European works on Turkey translated into Russian. There are 3,178 entries. These include references to Turkey in Lenin's works and speeches, speeches by Soviet statesmen, general Soviet works on Turkey, and books and articles dealing with Turkey's geography, ethnography, economy, history, state structure, armed forces, political parties, languages, education and press, art, etc.

# A F R I C A

## SOVIET WRITING ON ETHIOPIA

> "Ethiopia is a monarchy. The Soviet Union is a socialist country. They are far from one another, but friendly ties inspired by mutual respect and trust have been established and are growing stronger between the Ethiopian and Soviet peoples. Soviet-Ethiopian relations are one of the graphic examples of the practical realization of the Leninist policy of the peaceful co-existence of states with different social, economic and political systems, a policy of peace and friendship between all nations."

Those are the concluding words of a booklet ETHIOPIA, Moscow, 1960, by V.G. Molchanov, who like other Soviet writers on Ethiopia lays stress on the "traditional friendship" between the two countries which "has its roots in the distant past" and "has not been clouded by conflicts". Russian interest in Ethiopia does indeed date back to the 19th century or earlier (see RUSSIA LOOKS AT AFRICA, pp. 2-3) and Russia has produced outstanding Abyssinian scholars such as B.A. Turayev in Tsarist times and I.Yu. Krachkovskiy during the Soviet period. However, Soviet interest in Ethiopia has fluctuated in the same way as Soviet interest in Africa as a whole. It is true that the Soviet Union supported Ethiopia in the League of Nations at the time of the Abyssinian war, and books about the episode were published in the Soviet Union; but for the rest of the period between the wars Soviet writers showed practically no interest in the country, and diplomatic relations were not established with Ethiopia until 1943. Soviet writers have never levelled direct criticism at the Emperor Haile Selassie, and up to about 1955 they appeared to regard him as having been a victim of Anglo-American imperialism since the Second World War. This attitude changed when the Soviet Union began to seek rapprochement with the uncommitted countries; and the Emperor's acceptance of large-scale aid from the USA was depicted as a conscious policy dictated by economic necessity. By 1958, however, Y. Grigor'yev (INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS No. 6) was able to speak of "the essentially new relations developing between the socialist countries and Ethiopia", such as trade agreements, exchange of delegations, etc. The final seal of Soviet approval was earned when Ethiopia aligned herself with other African states against colonialism and imperialism at the Accra Conference in April 1958 and subsequent all-African conferences.

Ethiopia "under the yoke of imperialism" In 1954 in PEOPLES OF AFRICA the authors of the chapter on Ethiopia claimed that, although the Italians were driven out of Ethiopia by the end of 1941, "only the victory of the armed forces of the Soviet Union over the Italo-German fascist coalition secured the successes of the Ethiopian people in the struggle with the Italian colonialists". But they went on to say that "Anglo-American imperialism came to take the place of Italian imperialism"; and in the introduction to the book Potekhin said that Ethiopia, one of the four "formally independent states" in Africa, was "heavily dependent, economically and politically on the USA and Britain". It was alleged that Britain ill-treated the tribes in the parts of Ethiopia occupied by her troops, and that the "colonial regime" she established in Eritrea was worse than Italian rule had been. The British were said to have carried on "feverish activity" to seize the whole of the Red Sea coast and parts of Ethiopia, setting different tribes and sections of the populations against each other and supporting "the separatist strivings of Ethiopian feudal lords" in order to convince the world that British trusteeship was necessary in the area. The authors supported Ethiopia's claim to Eritrea both on historical and economic grounds, and noted the rejection at the Paris Conference of Foreign Ministers in 1946 of the Soviet proposals that Assab in Eritrea should be transferred to Ethiopia to give her an outlet to the sea. However, the decision of the UN General Assembly in December 1950 to form a federation from Eritrea and Ethiopia was described as "only a convenient cover for the virtual rule of British and American imperialism".

The authors alleged that Ethiopia "fell into the rapacious claws of American and British monopolies" after the war and American "assistance" consisted in pumping foodstuffs and raw materials out of Ethiopia; it "means the enslavement of Ethiopia and does not create any of the bases for independent development of its economy". They considered Ethiopia "a backward feudal state ... still under the yoke of the foreign imperialists", and said that the Emperor Haile Selassie's reforms could not "bring Ethiopia out on to the wide road of independent development". The Americans had turned Ethiopia into a strategic base, building airfields, controlling the airlines and granting loans for the construction of roads and telegraph lines. The authors ended by saying that "the fight for peace in Ethiopia is organically merged with the fight against American-British domination, against feudalism, for democracy". But the "anti-imperialist, democratic" forces were very weak; the peasants needed leadership which could be provided by the emergent working class. However, with trade unions and demonstrations banned, "the formation of the democratic camp and its advanced detachment, the working class, takes place in the difficult conditions of the feudal and imperialist yoke".

Views expressed by D.P. Voblikov in his review of ECONOMIC HANDBOOK OF ETHIOPIA, Addis Ababa, 1951, in SOVETSKOYE VOSTOKOVEDENIYE No. 4 of 1955, were on the same lines, namely that the book showed "the growing economic dependence of Ethiopia on foreign capital, British and particularly American" and that "Ethiopia is covered with a wide network of branches of foreign firms which ruin the people". The economy had a "semi-colonial character" with no heavy industry or engineering, and an analysis of the export-import trade confirmed "that the country has been turned into an agricultural raw-material appendage of foreign monopolies, a sales market for their goods and a field of investment for their capital".

Following the Bandung Conference in 1955 and the change in the Soviet attitude towards non-Communist regimes in the under-developed countries, the entry under Ethiopia in the LARGE SOVIET ENCYCLOPAEDIA in 1957 showed a definite modification of Soviet views. No suggestion was made that Ethiopia was "under the yoke of the foreign imperialists", and, though increased penetration by "US monopoly capital" since the war was noted and Ethiopia's aid and defence agreements with the USA were mentioned, a great deal more prominence was given to the Emperor Haile Selassie's post-war "economic, social and political reforms whose aim was to put Ethiopia on the road of independent development"; specific mention was made of the abolition of slavery, tax reforms, land distribution and education. It was also noted with satisfaction that "in recent years ... the Ethiopian Government, trying to show some resistance to American monopolies, tries to attract capital from other countries too", including the socialist states. The new Constitution of 1955 was described as "a step forward on the path of the country's democratization".

Anglo-American rivalry in post-war Ethiopia This was the title of a long article in SOVETSKOYE VOSTOKOVEDENIYE No. 4 of 1957 by D.P. Voblikov. Voblikov said that Ethiopia "in view of its raw material resources and important strategic position" occupied "a far from secondary place in the aggressive plans of the USA" and was "an important link in the attack of American capital on the positions of Britain and France in the Mediterranean basin and Africa".

Voblikov claimed that after the defeat of the Italians, when the Emperor tried to restore the country's administration and economy after the ravages of the Italian occupation, the main brake on economic development was the British military administration. British troops occupied strategic points; "Italian property was taken out of Ethiopia on the pretext of using it in the war against the states of the fascist bloc"; Britian wanted to unite border areas of Ethiopia to the Sudan, Eritrea and British Somaliland; "the British seized control over the country's finances and foreign trade" and used the railways for their own purposes,

so that Ethiopian exports piled up at railway stations and rotted in the sun. Ethiopia's dependent position was made particularly clear by the treaty and military convention of 1942 which stipulated the employment of British advisers and the occupation of the Ogaden and Reserved Areas by British troops. Voblikov alleged that Britain "used the most cruel methods to disarm the population of the occupied zone ... and to suppress its resistance to the colonial regime"; wells were blocked up and "British soldiers and officers robbed the inhabitants, raped the women and drove away their animals". The British also encouraged bands, armed by them, to raid the area of Ethiopia not under their occupation. The growing indignation of the population and repeated demands by the Ethiopian Government forced the British to agree to a review of the 1942 treaty.

Voblikov said that the 1944 treaty was little better from Ethiopia's point of view and roused indignation in Ethiopia "which the USA hastened to take advantage of". Thus in 1944 diplomatic relations were established between the USA and Ethiopia and talks on economic collaboration were held in Cairo which gave American capital access to Ethiopia and led to an influx of American experts. In 1945 the Sinclair Petroleum Company was given a 50-year oil concession and various other American firms received mining concessions. According to Voblikov, the British resented the American firm prospecting for oil in the Ogaden and asked it to desist for security reasons. When the Americans refused, the British "organized an attack by Somali tribesmen". The Emperor's government made repeated requests for the return of the Ogaden, but the British took no notice and "continued to disrupt the work of the American firm ... The British administration however did not succeed in driving out the American firm and, yielding to the joint pressure of Ethiopia and the USA, British troops evacuated the Ogaden province in 1948, remaining in the 'Reserved Areas'."

Another defeat for Britain, said Voblikov, was the change-over in 1945 from the East African shilling to the Ethiopian dollar based on the American dollar, and the replacement of the British manager of the State Bank by an American. Bennett, the second American to hold this post, was alleged to have used his opportunities to encourage exports to the USA at low prices and imports from the USA at high prices, which "undermined the bases of Ethiopia's trade with other countries" and led the Ethiopians to relieve him of his post in 1952. However, lacking finances, equipment and trained personnel, the Ethiopian Government had to turn to the USA for aid, which was granted on "enslaving conditions". Large sums had to be spent on roads, which gave the USA control of the country's communications; and since 1946 the Americans had been running the airlines and had built airfields suitable for heavy bombers. The Americans had been granted various military privileges in Ethiopia; Voblikov attacked in particular the "mutual defence" agreement of May 1953, saying that

"objectively the treaty opened great possibilities for the subordination of Ethiopia to the American military which created a threat to the country's sovereignty". All this, according to Voblikov, took place "at the expense ... of British imperialism"; the British military mission left, and their "propaganda centre" closed down; they had to leave Eritrea in 1952 when it was federated with Ethiopia, but they sold or removed harbour installations before they left rather than leave them to the Ethiopians; and finally in 1954 they agreed to withdraw their troops from eastern Ethiopia. This last event was described by Voblikov as "an unconditional success for Haile Selassie's government", but Britain was still "doing everything possible" to hinder the Ethiopian administration in the Ogaden; for instance, in November 1955 the British provoked a bloody conflict between nomads from British Somaliland and tribes in the Ogaden and then used it to campaign for the dissolution of the 1954 agreement.

Voblikov then went on to say that the Ethiopians "were worried by the excessive strengthening of the positions of American imperialism. Under the influence of the internal opposition and also as a result of radical changes in the international situation brought about by the growth of the forces of the socialist camp and the progressive collapse of the colonial system, the Ethiopian Government seeks new ways of independent development for the country". He cited various government measures to help local businessmen, assist industry, agriculture and animal husbandry, and promote the development of trade and economic relations with India and the socialist countries - Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and the USSR. Voblikov concluded by saying that American monopolies were using "more subtle methods" than British capitalists but "the colonialist essence of the expansion of US capital found its clear expression in the so-called Eisenhower doctrine. Using economic 'aid' ... and the interest of the Ethiopian Government in receiving arms, the USA tries to establish itself in Ethiopia and exclude Britain". Voblikov considered that "a further aggravation of Anglo-American contradictions is inevitable", but the outcome would depend not only on the relative strength of Britain and the USA but also on the policy of the Ethiopian Government and on the Ethiopian people, who had come forward to defend their independence more than once in the past. Friendship with the socialist camp would also "increase the possibilities of resisting imperialist penetration".

The Emperor's visit to the USSR The Emperor Haile Selassie's visit to the USSR in June-July 1959 marked a culmination in the closer relations between Ethiopia and the Soviet Union which had been developing since 1956, when the two countries raised their respective diplomatic missions to embassies. It was the occasion for a number of short articles in Soviet journals, namely "Soviet-Ethiopian Friendship" by Y. Tomilin in INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS No. 7 of 1959, "A New Page of a Traditional Friendship" in SOVREMENNYY VOSTOK No. 8 of 1959, "Friendship and Collaboration

between the USSR and Ethiopia Grows Stronger" by I. Trofimenko in VNESHNYAYA TORGOVLYA No. 8 of 1959, and "Ethnographic Exhibition on Ethiopia" by Z.P. Akisheva in SOVETSKAYA ETNOGRAFIYA No. 5 of 1959, which described an exhibition held in the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography in Leningrad in honour of the Emperor's visit. Tomilin commented in his article that "while the Soviet Union is pursuing a policy of peace and friendship with respect to Ethiopia, the Western powers continue to regard her as an object of colonial policy", and SOVREMENNYY VOSTOK noted that the Soviet Union and Ethiopia were on friendly terms despite their different social systems. "In the Soviet Union", the article continued, "they value highly the peace-loving foreign policy of Ethiopia, its constructive position in the Afro-Asian community, and its consistent stand in defence of the enslaved peoples of Africa. For their part the Ethiopian people regard the efforts of the Soviet Government aimed at maintaining peace, freedom and the independence of all peoples both great and small with a feeling of deep admiration and gratitude." Economic, trade and cultural agreements, including the grant of a long-term credit of 400 million roubles to Ethiopia for the development of industry and agriculture, were signed at the time of the visit, and Voroshilov and Khrushchev accepted an invitation to pay a return visit to Ethiopia.

Economic problems In his book ETHIOPIA, Moscow, 1959, Voblikov deals at length with the country's economy. Ethiopia, he says, is an agrarian country where most of the land is in the hands of the big landowners and the Church. Agricultural methods are primitive since the peasants, exploited by the state, landowners and Church, cannot buy modern implements. Land reforms since 1941 - the abolition of slavery and the gebar serf system, distribution of state lands to ex-servicemen and others, and the tax on all land which led big landowners to give up part of their uncultivated land to the state - have led to an increase in cultivation, but still only 10-12 per cent of the fertile land is worked. Voblikov says that it is not possible to judge how the reforms have been carried out, but from indirect information in the press it appears that they have not satisfied the peasants and in general "the agrarian question in Ethiopia demands a radical solution". Voblikov describes various government measures since the war to improve agriculture and animal husbandry, such as model farms, exhibitions, training colleges and compulsory vaccination of livestock, but comments that these measures are inadequate and that only one per cent of the budget goes to the Ministry of Agriculture. As for industry, the country is under-developed economically and lacks metallurgical, engineering and chemical industries. The country's huge natural resources are hardly tapped. There are a few small mines, and processing industries have only developed since the war. The state controls some industries, is a shareholder in others and encourages the national bourgeoisie to take over foreign firms, but "at the same time, forced to reckon with the limited possibilities of the national bourgeoisie,

it creates favourable conditions for foreign investments", though it limits the removal of capital and profits from the country. In emulation of other countries copying the socialist countries, says Voblikov, a five-year plan was drawn up for 1957-1961. Voblikov notes that the processing industries have developed primarily as a result of foreign private investment. The Americans, interested in strategic raw materials, have concentrated "almost exclusively" on the mining industry, but many countries of Europe and Asia are represented in the processing industries. State capital investments are also increasing all the time. Voblikov considers that the development of manufacturing industries serving the home market, by reducing imports of consumer goods, has led to "definite, although small, successes in the development of national industry". A factor seriously hindering the exploitation of wild coffee, the export of livestock and other branches of the economy is the lack of roads.

On trade, Voblikov notes that Ethiopia exports mainly agricultural produce and hides and imports industrial goods and cotton. It is Ethiopia's policy to trade with many countries and recently it has become possible for Ethiopia to reject "enslaving agreements with the imperialist powers" and to expand "economic and cultural links with the independent states of Asia and Africa and the socialist countries". On finance, Voblikov says that Ethiopia was in a difficult position after the Italians left. American banks granted loans of 74 million dollars between 1946 and 1957, but 68 million of this went on aviation and road construction, and the terms were stiff. Recently the government has been able to attract foreign capital into industry and agriculture on much more favourable terms. Voblikov analyses the 1958 budget which, with roughly a quarter of the income coming from foreign loans and credits, "shows Ethiopia's dependence on foreign capital, mainly American". Large sums are spent on US arms purchases, the police, lend-lease repayments and public works such as roads and the reconstruction of Assab port, while investments in agriculture and industry are very small, being 0.7 per cent and 0.26 per cent respectively. "Investments in industry are so small," says Voblikov, "that one can hardly talk of the rapid development of national industry, which is an indispensable condition of the country's economic independence". Voblikov asserts that "the military and economic 'aid' of the USA hinders the economic and cultural development of the country. The USA declines to grant capital for the needs of industry, irrigation and railway construction and stimulates the acquisition of costly armaments, the development of aviation, communications and strategic road construction, diverting to this field substantial capital and human reserves". More than a third of the capital needed for the five-year plan will come from foreign investments, with America's contributions again going on roads and communications. In general, Voblikov says, foreign capital is unwilling to enter industry since the imperialist powers "would like to keep Ethiopia as a sales market and a source of cheap raw materials and foodstuffs". There-

fore, to ensure fulfilment of the plan, in 1959 Ethiopia turned to the USSR and other socialist states which granted her credits and technical assistance.

V.G. Molchanov, writing a year later in ETHIOPIA, Moscow, 1960, notes that the first metallurgical factory is now being constructed on the river Akaki and that the Ministry of Agriculture will receive seven times more from the budget in 1961 than in 1956. But he considers the dependence of the budget on the price of coffee dangerous: "since the coffee goes mainly to the USA, and constant changes in the price on the world market cause fluctuations in receipts of foreign currency, this can threaten to upset the time allowed for fulfilling the projected economic plans".

Ethnic problems In PEOPLES OF AFRICA, 1954, it was noted that, though the population of Ethiopia was formed of various ethnic and linguistic groups, as a result of living together in one territory for a long period the ethnic differences were gradually being obliterated. The use of Amharic as the state language, the development of money (as opposed to barter) trading, leading to economic unity, and the fight against imperialism, particularly against the Italians from 1935-1941, had all played a role in the process of the formation of an Ethiopian nation. M.V. Rayt and Ye.G. Titov in ETHIOPIA, Moscow, 1960, which describes their three months' visit to Ethiopia in 1958, come to the same conclusions. They say that the process is proceeding unevenly, but in general there is a mutual interaction between Amhara culture and that of the other peoples of Ethiopia, and "a new all-Ethiopian culture is emerging which also absorbs much from the culture of European peoples". They conclude that "in the near future the peoples of Ethiopia are likely to merge into a single Ethiopian nation".

Soviet writers have until recently regarded the problem of the Somalis in the Ogaden as one inflamed artificially by the "imperialists" for their own purposes. A.M. Khazonov writing on the Mad Mullah's rising among the Somalis (1899-1920) in PROBLEMY VOSTOKOVEDENIYA No. 2 of 1960 says that the assertion that the movement was originally directed against the Ethiopians "does not correspond to historical reality"; he implies that the British attempted to use Ethiopian detachments to suppress the revolt, an attempt which had no tangible results because the Ethiopians were not hostile to the Somalis. British suggestions after the Second World War for a Greater Somalia to include the Ogaden come under heavy fire. In PEOPLES OF AFRICA the authors wrote that "Britain tried to use in her imperialist interests the noble striving of the people [Somalis] for national unification and to create in North East Africa a state dependent on her of the type of Transjordan". When the question was raised at the Foreign Ministers' Conference in Paris in 1956 it was "only the firm

position of the Soviet Union" which prevented Britain realizing her plans, though "Anglo-American contradictions played their part". Yu. Bochkarev, describing his visit to Ethiopia in 1957 to attend the opening of parliament (NEW TIMES No. 29 of 1958), recounts what one of the deputies told him about Nixon's visit to Addis Ababa in March 1957; that the USA, seeking to obtain military concessions, tried to bring pressure to bear on Ethiopia by deliberately spreading rumours that she was prepared to support separatist elements in the Ogaden. In SOVETSKAYA ETNOGRAFIYA No. 1 of 1959 M.V. Rayt accused "enemies of the Somali and Ethiopian peoples" of trying to make mischief between them, and commented that the two countries had solved their problems by "the tried and only sensible method ... the method of talks". However, S. Kondrashov, writing on the recent Third African Peoples' Conference in Cairo (NEW TIMES No. 15 of 1961), tacitly admits that "the imperialists" are not entirely responsible for the ill-feeling between the two; he says that "there were clashes between some of the delegations, for instance, between the Somali and Ethiopia over Ethiopia's border regions populated by Somali tribes" and this is one of the facts "indicative of the complex political situation in Africa". Soviet writers appear to sympathize with the Somalis' desire to unite, but do not go as far as to state that Ethiopia should give up the Ogaden.

From an ideological point of view Ethiopia can hardly recommend itself to Soviet writers. They point out that it is largely a feudal state, that there are no political parties, that the Ethiopian Church is powerful and reactionary, that the proletariat is small and only just forming and that the masses are politically and culturally backward. However, for the present, they prefer not to dwell on these facts and they present the Emperor Haile Selassie and his government as genuinely interested in developing their country and preserving its independence from "the imperialists". Appreciation of Ethiopia's attitude on the subject of colonialism, and of her cordial relations with the Soviet bloc, seems to be the main element in Soviet support for Ethiopian policy. But Soviet sympathy for Ethiopia does not amount to any unhesitating championship of her regime against all comers. At the time of the recent attempted coup d'etat in Ethiopia the Soviet press at first avoided taking sides, and merely quoted Western press reports without comment; it was only when the Emperor's victory was assured that Soviet newspapers began to publish articles condemning the revolt, as a conspiracy organized by American agencies.

## AFRICA IN THE SOVIET PRESS

Below are reviewed reports on African affairs appearing in the Soviet press during the period 29th March - 1st May 1961. (Note: Important items which have appeared in Agency messages or in broadcasts but not in the Soviet press have also been included for the sake of completeness.)

### The Third African Peoples' Conference

The Third African Peoples' Conference, held in Cairo on 25th-30th March, received much publicity in the Soviet press. In a message of greetings to the Chairman of the Conference (PRAVDA 25.3.61) Khrushchev expressed the Soviet people's pleasure that 180 million Africans had now achieved state independence, their sympathy with the peoples of the Congo, Algeria and other African countries fighting against colonialism, and their resolve to do everything to assist the African peoples in bringing about the implementation of the UN declaration on independence for colonial peoples. The unity and solidarity of the African peoples, he emphasized, was their strongest weapon against colonialism.

The absence of delegates from African states in treaty relations with France was noted (S. Kondrashov and V. Kudryavlev, IZVESTIYA 28.3.61), being attributed to the efforts of "the French neo-colonialists". Kondrashov also noted (NEW TIMES No.15 of 1961) that there was a clash between the Somali and Ethiopian delegations, and that criticism was directed against Mr. Tom Mboya as "doing a job for the Americans and British by trying to get conference support for an East African federation". Such facts, in Kondrashov's view, indicated "the complex political situation in Africa", but did not detract from the representative character of the conference.

The speeches attacking "neo-colonialism" received particular notice in Soviet reports. Kondrashov (IZVESTIYA 30.3.61) noted that Dr. Olatunji Otegbete, representing the Nigerian Youth Congress, complained that British economic exploitation of Nigeria had been intensified after its independence. The Kenyan delegate Ronald Ngala, representing KADU, had said that the USA "still oppresses 25 million Negroes", and the Africans did not want to exchange British colonial rule for "dollar imperialism". However, Kondrashov remarked on the general feeling among delegates that unity of opinion was not enough, and that unity of action was necessary. The present time, he said, demanded "concrete and decisive united action", and not just the kind of action of the Liberian delegate Osomu Johnson, who with an expansive gesture from the platform offered the solidarity movement a cheque for 25,000 dollars. Commenting on the conference resolutions, Kondrashov (IZVESTIYA 1.4.61) said that

they were "more concrete and more militant" than those of the previous conferences. Their authors had not been afraid to call by their proper names the colonialists and their "puppets". In its appraisals and its proposals the conference had gone much further than some African governments on such questions as the Congo and the structure of the UN. The resolution on neo-colonialism was another example of this trend; at the first African Peoples' Conference in Accra scarcely a word was said on the subject, and it had only been touched on at the second Tunis conference.

The Soviet press only provided brief accounts of the resolutions of the conference (which run to 4,000 words or more). Kondrashov (IZVESTIYA 1.4.61) noted that the resolution calling for the removal of Mr. Hammarskjoeld from his post, as being "responsible for the death of Lumumba", was greeted with loud applause by the delegates. In his report in NEW TIMES (No.15 of 1961), sent from Cairo by telephone, Kondrashov remarked that the conference had resolved to set up a "fund for the liberation of Africa", as well as an all-African trade union federation, youth, women's and peasant organizations, a "Free Africa Radio", an African investment bank, an "Academy of African Solidarity", an African news agency, etc. It is perhaps still too early to expect any considered Soviet comment on such initiatives. The whole tone of the proceedings and resolutions of the conference (as reported by Cairo radio and the New China News Agency) suggests that the movement which it represents now has nothing to learn from Soviet promptings in an "anti-imperialist" direction. Kondrashov indeed observes that the conference's resolution on neo-colonialism "is indicative of how quickly Africa is assimilating the lessons of history.

At the second African Peoples' Conference in Tunis in January 1960 a delegation of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee was present in the capacity of observers; no such delegation was reported to have attended the Cairo conference.

## Other Conferences and Occasions

The Afro-Asian Solidarity Council Meeting in Bandung Khrushchev sent a message of greetings to the Chairman of the Council meeting of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization, held in Bandung from 10th to 14th April; he affirmed the Soviet Union's support for the ideals of Bandung and for the struggle of the Asian and African peoples against colonialism (PRAVDA 10.4.61). A Soviet delegation led by Mirzo Tursun Zade attended the conference. The conference proceedings were covered by a Tass correspondent, and by O. Chechetkina for PRAVDA. Chechetkina quoted statements made to her by conference delegates expressing appreciation of Khrushchev's message; of the conference speeches she seemed to single

out in her reports those attacking aspects of "US neo-colonialism" (including the US "Peace Corps") and also delegates' demands for a change in the structure of the UN.

The Afro-Asian writers' conference A Soviet delegation attended the extraordinary meeting of the Afro-Asian Writers' Organization Permanent Bureau, held in Tokyo from 28th to 30th March. The delegation consisted of the Kazakh writer Gabit Musrepov, the Uzbek poetess Zul'fiya and the writer Konstantin Simonov (PRAVDA VOSTOKA 8.4.61).

The international trade union seminar in Tashkent An international seminar of trade union representatives from Asian, African, Latin American and some European countries was held in Tashkent from 9th to 29th April. It was organized by the World Federation of Trade Unions in cooperation with UNESCO and the All-Union Soviet Trade Union Council. Among those attending were trade unionists from Ghana, Nigeria, Guinea, Mali, Senegal and Madagascar. The theme for discussion was "The access of workers to education and culture". The actual discussions were not reported in the Soviet press. The WFTU Secretary Ibrahim Zakhariya, opening the seminar, said that one of its aims was "to acquaint trade unionists with the successes achieved in the socialist countries, where the workers have full access to culture and education"; in the capitalist countries, he said, a high level of culture was still out of reach of the workers. The Soviet press reported statements by delegates expressing admiration for Soviet cultural and scientific achievements (and in particular for Gagarin's space flight) and appreciation of Soviet support in the struggle against colonialism (PRAVDA VOSTOKA 9, 11, 12, 13, 15, 27 and 30.4.61; TRUD 30.4.61).

"Africa Freedom Day" "Africa Freedom Day", 15th April, was marked by a reception given in Moscow by the ambassadors of African states (on 17th April). Speeches were made by the Moroccan Ambassador Bashir Ben Abbes and by A.N. Kosygin, First Deputy Chairman of the Soviet Council of Ministers. Bashir Ben Abbes spoke of the continuing independence struggles in African countries, of Africa's neutrality between the two world blocs, and of Africa's need of foreign aid in order to raise its living standards; he praised Soviet aid and support to the African countries (PRAVDA 18.4.61). The Soviet press published enthusiastic articles on the occasion of "Africa Freedom Day"; V. Mayevskiy in PRAVDA (15.4.61) found a symbolic significance in the flight of the Soviet spaceship Vostok over Africa: "The Vostok over Africa is the light of the coming freedom of the whole Black Continent, the source of faith and strength for millions of Africans who are rising up in struggle."

Algeria

TRUD (28.3.61) reported that Dr. Ahmad Francis, the Minister of Finance of the Algerian "provisional government", had had talks with A.M. Kosygin, first Deputy Chairman of the Soviet Council of Ministers, and N.A. Mukhitdinov, a Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party.

In a dispatch from Geneva (IZVESTIYA 25.3.61) M. Mikhaylov described the arrangements for the Evian-les-Bains talks, and expressed hopes for their success. Subsequent dispatches from the Paris correspondents of Soviet newspapers reported the postponement of the talks on account of the French decision to negotiate also with "the counter-revolutionary Muslim group" of the Algerian National Movement (PRAVDA 6.4.61). The terrorist campaign of the Right-wing extremists was much publicized. An IZVESTIYA article signed "Observer" (8.7.61) analysed the French Government's attitude to talks on Algeria; de Gaulle, said the newspaper, represented the interests of the French monopolies, and these feared that if the war were lost they would lose the source of their vast profits from Sahara oil; but in any case France wished to keep under her control the Sahara region and military and naval bases in Algeria, and had plans for setting up a Mediterranean bloc under her leadership which would comprise Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco, other African countries, Spain, etc. The USA, Britain and Western Germany would take part, and "the economic basis of such an organization would be the joint exploitation of the natural wealth of the Sahara". But the Algerian people could not be isolated from its friends in Africa and elsewhere; as for the Soviet Union, its sympathies were firmly on the side of the Algerian people.

Soviet reports on the Algiers rebellion - referred to as "the fascist military putsch" - emphasized in particular the resistance temper of the French workers and of the CGT and French Communist Party. The first reports (PRAVDA and TRUD 23.4.61) gave prominence to CGT and Communist pronouncements. Left-wing criticisms of the government for taking a soft line towards the "ultras" were quoted. PRAVDA (25.4.61) said that despite the seriousness of the danger little had been done to prevent airborne landings; the trade unions were demanding the immediate arming of the working class to resist the rebels. "Some organs of the bourgeois press, far more frightened of the formation of a National Front than of the establishment of the rebels' authority in France, prefer a compromise between the government and the terrorists." A PRAVDA article signed "Observer" (25.4.61) said that the rebel generals could not have dreamt of striking against the central government if they had not had the support of influential quarters in France and also of international reaction; via Spain and Portugal, the threads of the plot led across the ocean "to the Pentagon and the US Central Intelligence Agency". The declaration of a state of emergency, and de Gaulle's statement that all possible means would be used against the rebels, might suggest a proper

awareness of the danger, but the "veering and vacillating" policy of the French government offered no assurance to the French masses that the means at the government's disposal would be used, and would only be used, for dealing a crushing blow to the rebels.

The first reports of the collapse of the rebellion attributed this to the unity and resolution of the French people, and quoted the French Communist Party's statement on the subject. PRAVDA (29.4.61) quoted PARIS-JOUR and LE MONDE for allegations that the US secret service had had a hand in the revolt, and that the aim was "to turn Algeria into a permanent US base". Later (4.5.61) Vladimir Zhukov in PRAVDA said that "Allen Dulles's agents were in the closest contact with the leaders of the putsch and spurred them on to open action"; the success of the revolt would mean the establishment of a Right-wing government which - unlike the present French Government - would support the USA's NATO policy, and if the plot failed France France's international position would suffer, which would equally favour US policy.

Congo

The amount of Soviet press comment on the Congo events was considerably less during the period under review. The only long article of note was that by K. Ivanov in PRAVDA (30.3.61) which summed up the lessons of the Congo for Africa and the world. Ivanov drew the usual Soviet picture of events in the Congo - that "the colonialists and the lackey Hammarskjoeld" had sought to destroy the unity and independence of the Congo "in order once more to turn the Congo and Congolese people into objects of colonial exploitation". The recent Tananarive conference, in recommending the division of the Congo into small states, had merely adopted a plan drawn up long before by the colonialists. The development of the Congolese anti-colonialist revolution reflected the understanding, general for all Africa, that the old colonial order was no longer tolerable, that it must be eliminated, and that the age-old backwardness and poverty maintained by colonialism could be ended. "At the same time, as often happens in a mass movement, shortcomings were revealed - primitiveness, localism, poor organization, and the habit of individual patriotically minded intellectuals to act on the principle that everyone can be a smart fellow in his own way." The unity of all the vital forces of the Congolese nation was essential for victory. The programme of the lawful Congolese Government headed by Antoine Gizenga truly reflected the aspirations of the Congolese people. The main lessons of the Congo tragedy were that it was not separate colonialists from one country or another that opposed the liberation of the African peoples, but the combined forces of the imperialist powers and their monopolies; that the structure of the UN, in which the Africans themselves had lost confidence, must be changed; and that the Africans had no affection for the capitalist system which

had enslaved them. The colonialists should not be surprised if Africa, having learnt from its Congolese experience to distinguish good from evil, should "seek to catch up with the highly developed countries and continents by taking the straight road which bypasses the dirty and bloody roads of agonizing capitalist development".

Soviet reports on the UN General Assembly debates on the Congo criticized not only the Western delegates and Mr. Hammarskjoeld but also the representatives of certain African countries. PRAVDA (6.4.61) said that the representatives of Chad and Niger "spoke with the voice of the colonialists" in praising the resolutions of the Tananarive conference; this, said PRAVDA, was not the true voice of Africa and its friends, such as was heard in the speeches of the Guinean, Ethiopian and Ceylonese delegates. The text of the Soviet resolution, calling for the recall of the Congolese parliament, was published in PRAVDA (8.4.61); the resolution moved by India and other countries on 5th April was reported (PRAVDA 7.4.61) - it was noted (IZVESTIYA 9.4.61) that the Soviet delegate called it "inadequate", but approved its demand for the withdrawal of Belgian personnel; and the resolution moved by Pakistan and 13 other countries was attributed (PRAVDA 8.4.61) to "backstage machination". Summing up the session, IZVESTIYA (18.4.61) said that "the NATO countries, using the mechanical voting procedure" had been able to achieve the defeat of the Soviet resolution and the alteration of the provisions in the Indian resolution regarding sanctions against Belgium.

Dispatches from correspondents in Stanleyville continued to be published in the Soviet press, notably from PRAVDA's correspondent T. Kolesnichenko. Kolesnichenko reported (3.4.61) an interview with Gizenga in which the latter affirmed the Congolese people's support for his government, emphasized the necessity for recalling the Congolese parliament, and expressed his appreciation of the Soviet attitude at the UN. The Tass correspondent G. Fedyashin (BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY 11.4.61) also reported an interview with Gizenga, in the course of which the latter declared: "Our country is not pro-Communist, as Western propaganda tries to make out, but this does not prevent our people feeling the most sincere friendship towards the people of Soviet Russia for their consistent policy of support for colonial peoples."

On 12th April PRAVDA published an account by Kolesnichenko of his impressions on first arriving in Orientale province. He describes his crossing into Congo territory (apparently at Aba, on the Sudanese frontier) where, as a Russian journalist, he was greeted with the salutation "Bonjour, camarade" by the frontier guard, and from where he travelled by car to Stanleyville. Contrary to Western reports, he says, the Congolese in Orientale province are "completely correct" in their behaviour towards Europeans; every European travelling to another town is accompanied by an armed soldier or gendarme. "This rule laid down by the government

renders impossible any provocations which might be carried out by the colonialists and used by them for interference in the affairs of Orientale province."

IZVESTIYA (18.4.61) reported that N.A. Mukhitdinov, a Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, had had a talk with the prominent public leader of the Congo Republic, Wege Chiteya.

Portuguese Africa

Events in Angola were followed closely in the Soviet press, on the basis of Tass dispatches from Paris, London and New York. According to the Soviet version of the events, a wide-scale "national liberation struggle" was in progress; large areas of the territory were in the control of the liberation forces; the vastly reinforced Portuguese security forces were carrying out savage reprisals against the population; but the final complete liberation of the territory from Portuguese colonial rule was inevitable. A special correspondent of PRAVDA, N. Prozhogin, sent a short dispatch (21.4.61) on the Rabat conference of organizations working for the liberation of the Portuguese colonies. The Soviet press reported declarations of solidarity with the people of Angola issued by the Soviet Central Trade Union Council (TRUD 26.4.61) and the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee (TRUD 28.4.61).

Other Countries

Morocco On 31st March the Soviet Government delegation visiting Senegal (see below) stopped in Rabat, where it was received by King Hasan II. In an address to the delegation the King spoke of the ideals which Morocco and the Soviet Union shared in common, and said that it was possible that in the future Morocco might have further recourse to the aid of the Soviet Union. The invitation to Khrushchev to visit Morocco remained in force (PRAVDA 1.4.61). Later (26.4.61) PRAVDA published a joint communique on the forthcoming exchange of visits by Khrushchev and King Hasan.

Moscow radio (12.3.61) reported that Soviet technicians at the Moroccan Government's request were studying a possible extension of the port of Al-Assarat and the building of a shipyard there.

Libya There were further reports on the visit of the Libyan parliamentary delegation to the Soviet Union, which lasted well over a month. Khrushchev gave a reception in the Kremlin for the delegation (PRAVDA 8.4.61); Brezhnev had a talk with the delegation in the Kremlin (PRAVDA 14.4.61); and the Supreme Soviet gave a reception in their honour (PRAVDA 14.4.61).

A strike by Libyan workers at the Wheelus Field US air base was the subject of a report in TRUD (23.4.61). TRUD said that the strikers demanded increased pay and observance of the Libyan labour laws by the US command; the latter replied that the workers must conform to the American regulations. The arbitrary action of the Americans and their claim to extraterritorial rights were arousing indignation among the Libyan public, who had long been demanding the liquidation of the base. The press had published an appeal to all workers in the country to support the strikers, and the Tripoli dockworkers' union was boycotting US merchant vessels.

Guinea Sekou Toure was one of those awarded 1960 Lenin Prizes "For the Strengthening of Peace between Peoples" (PRAVDA 1.5.61).

KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA (5.4.61) reported that a delegation of the Soviet Academy of Sciences had been in Guinea for over a month, studying the country's natural resources.

A group of Soviet agricultural specialists from the Gipro-Selkhoz Institute has been in Guinea advising on stockbreeding. In April a group from the institute will go out to select sites for four state dairy farms (Moscow radio 30.3.61).

Senegal and Mali President Senghor received the Soviet-African Friendship Society mission led by Prof. Dimitriy Ol'derogge (Dakar radio 6.3.61). The delegation arrived back in Moscow from Mali on 16th March (Moscow radio 17.3.61).

A Soviet Government delegation left Moscow for Dakar on 30th March to attend the festivities marking the independence of the Republic of Senegal. The delegation consisted of I.S. Senin, Chairman of the Budget Commission of the Supreme Soviet, and Ya.A. Malik, Deputy Foreign Minister. The delegation returned to Moscow on 9th April (IZVESTIYA 31.3.61, 4.4.61 and 5.4.61; SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA 12.4.61).

PRAVDA (4.4.61) published the announcement of a forthcoming exchange of visits between Khrushchev and President Modibo Keita of the Mali Republic.

PRAVDA VOSTOKA (30.3.61) reported the return to Mali of a delegation of the Mali Youth Union; they had spend three days in Uzbekistan, having come on there from Tbilisi.

The Entente states Under the heading "No entente between the Entente states" TRUD (28.3.61) reported that in Niamey talks had been concluded

between France and the four Entente states of Ivory Coast, Upper Volta, Dahomey and Niger; agreement had not been reached on defence and cultural cooperation.

Gabon Brezhnev sent a message of congratulations to Leon Mba on his election as President of the Republic of Gabon (PRAVDA VOSTOKA 24.3.61).

Ghana On 27th March Brezhnev received in the Kremlin delegations representing women's organizations of Ghana and Morocco (IZVESTIYA 29.3.61). The Ghana delegation visited Uzbekistan (PRAVDA VOSTOKA 2.4.61).

A delegation from the chambers of commerce of the Central Asian and Caucasian republics arrived in Accra on 6th April on a week's visit, to establish contacts with the Ghana Chamber of Commerce and business circles (IZVESTIYA 8.4.61).

At the Soviet book exhibition in Accra some 700 books were on view, as well as periodicals and records. There were 2,000 visitors on the opening day. Soviet documentary films were shown twice a day; they included the film about Lumumba (Tass 17.3.61). The Soviet book exhibition opened in Kumasi on 8th April, for two weeks (KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA 11.4.61).

The Ghanaian Ambassador to the Soviet Union stated that there were some 150 Ghanaians at present studying in the Soviet Union, in faculties of science, engineering, agriculture, medicine and law (MOSCOW NEWS 11.3.61).

Sierra Leone In his message to Sir Milton Margai on the occasion of Sierra Leone's independence Khrushchev said that the Soviet Union welcomed Sierra Leone as an independent and sovereign state and wished to establish diplomatic relations with it (TRUD 27.7.61). Special correspondents of PRAVDA and IZVESTIYA (O. Orestov and V. Osipov) covered the independence celebrations. Orestov (PRAVDA 27.4.61) said that Britain had "made the conclusion of a defence agreement a condition of independence"; Sir Milton Margai had declared that the All People's Congress, which opposed the agreement, intended acts of sabotage and had even threatened his life, and that his government was obliged to declare a state of emergency and arrest all leaders of the opposition; the All People's Congress denied these allegations and said that it intended to fight for its aims by peaceful means. A political situation had arisen, said Orestov, which was common to other independent African countries; the road along which the country would advance was now in question; but the proclamation of independence would undoubtedly help to promote the political awareness of the people of Sierra Leone.

Somalia PRAVDA (24.4.61) published the joint Soviet-Somali communique issued at the conclusion of the Soviet good-will mission's visit to Mogadishu during the first half of April (Note: The communique was published in the Somali press on 10th April). The communique stated that in the course of cordial discussions complete agreement was reached on important international questions such as disarmament, the abolition of colonialism, peaceful coexistence and measures to raise the standard of living of peoples of under-developed countries. On the principles of equality, non-interference and mutual respect for each other's social and political systems the two sides agreed to strengthen their friendly relations, and exchanged views on closer economic and cultural cooperation. The Somali Government handed the leader of the Soviet mission, Minister M.A. Lesenchko, a note concerning economic and technical aid for development projects, with a request for a Soviet long-term loan on favourable conditions; the Soviet Government agreed to consider favourably the Somali wishes. The two sides agreed that their mutual interests would be served by the development of trade relations and the conclusion in the near future of a trade agreement under which the USSR would import from Somalia skins and hides, bananas, cotton, groundnuts, oilseeds and other goods in exchange for agricultural machinery, industrial equipment and consumer goods. A cultural agreement was also envisaged, and the Somali Premier was invited to visit the Soviet Union.

Tanganyika The announcement of the date for Tanganyika's independence - 28th December 1961 - was reported in a few Soviet newspapers, without comment.

Kenya PRAVDA (30.4.61) published an article by the Kenyan D.K. Wamatu entitled "Independence for Kenya!" Following the convening of a new parliament with an African majority, said Wamatu, it might now be hoped that Kenya would achieve independence in 1962 or earlier. But Kenyatta was still not free, and "after the criminal murder by the colonialists of Patrice Lumumba and Felix Moumie the colonialists will not shrink from raising their hand against the leader of the Kenyan people". The immediate implementation of the UN declaration on independence for colonial peoples would save Kenyatta and other African patriots. Wamutu ended with a greeting to the Soviet peoples "on the eve of May Day" and an expression of admiration at Gagarin's space flight.

South Africa The anniversary of Sharpeville was the occasion for an article, with photographs, in IZVESTIYA (1.4.61), which quoted Bishop Ambrose Reeves's enquiries into the affair and his conclusion that the shooting was a premeditated action. IZVESTIYA also reported (29.3.61) that the Pietermaritzburg conference of African organizations had called on the

Indian and Coloured communities and all democratic Europeans to "support the opposition to the racialist policy of the Verwoerd government which is bringing disaster to South Africa". Another report carried by IZVESTIYA (1.4.61) was that, according to persistent rumours in London, secret discussions were in progress between South Africa, Portugal and the Central African Federation for an agreement on defence against "Communist infiltration". This "trite formula", said IZVESTIYA, in fact concealed a joint attempt to "suppress the growing national liberation movement" of the peoples of these African territories.

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Changes in names of Soviet publications The following changes have been made in the names of the two principal Soviet publications dealing with eastern and African affairs:

PROBLEMY VOSTOKOVEDENIYA (Problems of Orientalism) has been renamed NARODY AZII I AFRIKI: ISTORIYA, EKONOMIKA, KULTURA (Peoples of Asia and Africa: History, Economics and Culture), beginning with the second issue of 1961. This publication will in future be referred to in the Newsletter as NARODY AZII I AFRIKI.

SOVREMENNYY VOSTOK (The Modern East) has been renamed AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA (Asia and Africa Today), beginning with the March issue of 1961.

Issued by Central Asian Research Centre

in association with

St. Antony's College (Oxford) Soviet Affairs Study Group

Central Asian Research Centre

66 King's Road, London S.W. 3

Duplicated by Expedite Multiprint Ltd., 51 Tothill Street, Westminster, S. W. 1 Abbey 3213